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Comment

APPALLING FRANKNESS

ONCE again Sir Godfrey Huggins has chosen to shed his 'liberal' mantle and speak his mind with brutal honesty. He does so, it would seem, at regular intervals, to bring home to any African who dares to ask for equality with Europeans the fact that behind him there still stand the masses of the great unwashed. What he expects to gain from these utterances it is hard to imagine. 'There is going to be inequality and differentiation,' he told Mr. Dauti Yamba, who asked in the Central African Federal Assembly for equal treatment for all races in public places within the Federation, 'to pretend there is not, is to deceive everybody . . . we hope over a period of time to wipe out all these things as the African advances and the European becomes more enlightened.' When Mr. Yamba referred to the preamble to the federal constitution, Sir Godfrey rushed in with a reference to the need to develop the country economically, 'which is what we have got federation for, not for the preamble—that was forced upon us.'¹ So now we know. In Central Africa it is not to be the Federal Government which plays a liberal rôle, by contrast with the rôle played by the Federal legislation in the United States and described on page 3 of this number by an American writer. Fortunately, in the constituent territories, some more progressive influences are at work. Southern Rhodesia is carrying out a number of quiet improvements in 'native' policy, Nyasaland is witnessing an attempt to start an inter-racial political party, and in Northern Rhodesia Mr. John Moffat's voice has been raised in tones mercifully different from those of Sir

Godfrey Huggins. Mr. Moffat has persuaded the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council to adopt four resolutions recognising the right to equality of opportunity for members of all races. The most important declare the intention of Northern Rhodesia to move forward to 'a franchise with no separate representation for the races,' and recognise that during the transitional period 'it is the duty of H.M. Government to ensure that on contentious issues the balance is fairly held.' This is a great improvement on the violent attacks on the Colonial Office which won such applause before Sir Roy Welensky abandoned the territorial legislature for the federal stage. Cynics will say that is merely a statement of intention, but it is the first statement to command the agreement of both European and African members. If it does not promise the moon, it does promise a decent future for which members of all races can work. The test will be found in practical steps. 'Before we will believe in partnership,' Mr. Yamba said in his Salisbury speech, 'we want to feel it, to see it, to smell it.' The first, and most difficult, steps of all, will have to be taken in settling the copperbelt dispute¹ and in securing agreement on the franchise issue.

MALAYAN COMPROMISE

THE clash with the U.M.N.O.-M.C.A. Alliance in Malaya, which led to the resignation of members of these organisations from all boards and Government councils in June, was resolved in July. Following negotiations which satisfied the Alliance, the boycott was called off, and even the Malayan Sultans decided in conference with the new High Commissioner that 'the passage of time and changing circumstances that inevitably arise from it make it desirable to re-examine at intervals

¹ *The Times*, July 31st, 1954.

¹ See page 6.

the Federation Agreement, for the purpose of ensuring that it meets with the needs and aspirations of the people and makes the fullest provision for their welfare and happiness.' It now looks as though the elections will be held next year in a favourable atmosphere, and the new Government which emerges from them should be in a strong position to re-examine the foundations of the constitution if it is desired to establish a more satisfactory relationship with the Sultans. It should be observed that this successful compromise has been achieved by stressing once again the need for unity in Malaya. The High Commissioner agreed to consult, after the election, the leaders of the majority party or parties when appointing members to seats reserved for the representation of elements who have not found adequate representation through the electoral process. The letter in which he made this proposal (July 6, 1954) will go down in colonial constitutional history for the following paragraph:—

'... it would, I believe, be inappropriate for me to send these representatives into the Council to oppose the policy of the majority among the elected members; indeed, this might well be regarded as thwarting or frustrating the wishes of the electors as expressed at the polls and as being inconsistent with the promotion of that harmony and close identity between the Legislature as a whole and the Executive, which the Election Committee unanimously indicated... should be the constant aim of the High Commissioner. The purpose of these seats, as well as the basic intention of the Constitution, will, I believe, be more readily and appropriately achieved by filling these seats with representatives... who are not likely to find themselves out of harmony with the major political opinion in the Council... and consequently less able to inform and guide that opinion effectively.'

This is a realist decision, following logically from the recommendation of the Elections Committee that representation should be on a common voters' roll. The High Commissioner has given proof that it is not his intention to play off minority groups against elected Ministers. The latter, in their turn, will, it is to be hoped, demonstrate their good faith by refraining from making majority party stooges of the nominated members.

OFF WITH A BANG

NOTHING could have been more fitting than Mr. Oliver Lyttelton's relinquishment of office in the midst of a flaming row in the House of Commons. The people of Cyprus have for many years made it clear that they wish to unite with Greece. Greece is now taking the issue to the United Nations while the British Government stands on its dignity and refuses to discuss the sovereignty of British territory. This was not un-

expected. What was unexpected was the attempt to prevent the Cypriots from discussing it either. The confusion of the issue with new defence arrangements consequent on British withdrawal from the Canal Zone in Egypt, and the offer of a constitution which nobody in his senses could expect the Cypriots to accept, have together produced one of the worst of Mr. Lyttelton's conflagrations. The statements of the local Attorney-General roused the entire British press, while Mr. Lyttelton roused the Greeks with another of his injudicious asides. Yet it is fair to say that the Cyprus problem baffled the Labour Government also. The Labour Government also offered a constitution (though a much better one than Mr. Lyttelton's), and the Cypriots refused to work it because it prohibited the legislature from discussing the status of Cyprus within the British Commonwealth. We presume that at the time there must have been a Cabinet decision on this. The whole situation in the Middle East has changed since 1948, but basically we still have to decide whether, if defence needs require it, the Cypriots are to be prevented from exercising their right to self-determination. Previously they were offered progress to self-government as a preliminary. They are quite entitled to insist on having the ultimate stage defined before accepting self-government or any intermediate arrangement. The Conservative Government has no doubts on the matter. Self-determination, according to Mr. Lyttelton, 'is a most unlikely thing in any future we can foresee.'¹ It does not seem unlikely to the Cypriots. They have a right to hear the considered view of the Labour Party in the changed situation which now confronts them. Meanwhile, any amount of sedition prosecutions will not divert them. We came long ago to the conclusion that in a colonial territory the definition of sedition in practice depends on the Attorney-General. This is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs, of which Cyprus provides only one example of many. The whole question will be dealt with in a special article in a subsequent number of *Venture*.

COLONIAL POLICY QUESTIONNAIRE

OUR questionnaire on Labour Party policy on Colonies has produced some stimulating replies from members of the Fabian Society and of the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Some local Fabian societies have held discussions on it; so has at least one Divisional Labour Party to date. The answers received from members will be the subject

¹ House of Commons, July 28th, 1954.

of an article in a subsequent number, and we shall also publish extracts from some of the replies. Meanwhile, we thank all those who have sent in answers, and now publish the questionnaire itself on page 7 for non-members who want to clarify their (and our) minds. The reactions of the first starters have been varied. One member thought this 'the most valuable thing the Fabian Society

has done for a long time,' another that the questions might almost have been framed to preclude the expression of Socialist opinions, a third that 'the questionnaire has shown the difficulty of having "a socialist colonial policy" or even "a" colonial policy at all.' But at least one 'enjoyed' thinking about the questions, and we recommend his example to others.

THE LAW AND RACE DISCRIMINATION

Recent Experience in the United States

by David C. Williams

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court that the maintenance of segregated school systems by the District of Columbia and by a number of Southern and border states is contrary to the Constitution is a significant milestone in the progress of America's Negro citizens toward full equality. Although the Supreme Court is to rule later on the means by which segregation can be eliminated, it is already clear that the border states and the Districts of Columbia will conform to the ruling, which accords with the trend of public opinion in these areas.

Some of the Southern states are seeking means to evade the decision. Even before it was announced, the legislature of Georgia approved a constitutional amendment to make it possible to substitute privately operated schools for the system now publicly supported, since the Supreme Court cases concern only the latter. But the Southern states, which have more children and less financial resources than the other states, are already having difficulty in providing adequate educational facilities, and any thorough-going attempt to maintain segregation is likely to be too costly for them.

The decision draws attention to the considerable rôle which the Federal Constitution, state laws, and court decisions play in race relations in America—a field which in Britain has generally been regarded as outside the scope of government. There are two main classes of laws—those, largely in the Southern and border states, which seek to enforce racial discrimination and segregation; and those, mainly constitutional amendments, federal laws, and state laws outside the South, which have been directed against such practices.

Considerable progress has been made in reducing the impact of discriminatory laws during recent years. For the most part, this has come about through a series of historic Supreme Court decisions. Thus, the Supreme Court struck down most of the elaborate devices which the Southern states have adopted in order to prevent Negroes from voting. It likewise ruled against segregation in those trains and buses which, because they are in inter-state traffic, are subject to the federal authority. Supreme Court decisions

requiring the admission of Negroes to white graduate and professional schools in the South made the first inroad into the practice of segregated public education which, by the most recent decision, is now completely outlawed.

Progress has also been made, although on a more modest scale, through the action of the states themselves. For example, the requirement which survives in a few Southern states that a citizen pay a poll tax in order to vote has escaped Supreme Court condemnation, because it applies to white and Negro citizens alike—although, of course, the average white citizen can more easily afford it than the average Negro. Last year Tennessee repealed its poll tax, and Alabama drastically cut it.

The body of discriminatory law is being steadily eroded, and virtually no new laws of this character are being enacted. Of more current interest to British readers, perhaps, is American experience with laws directed against discrimination.

There are a good many Americans who incline to the prevailing British attitude to such laws. You cannot legislate morality, they say. Racial prejudice, they maintain, can only be eliminated by education and persuasion. This attitude still prevails in the South, even among many of those who are themselves sincerely in favour of justice for the Negroes. Those who have followed Alastair Cooke's articles and broadcasts have probably noticed that he inclines towards this view.

A growing number of Americans, however, are coming to the conclusion that education is not enough. A child in a middle-class suburb, for instance, may be taught in school that Negroes have as much intelligence and ability as White people. But, since the only Negroes he sees are charwomen, rubbish collectors, and the like, he is inclined to think that Negroes must actually be fit only for menial jobs. Discrimination thus breeds prejudice, which in turn breeds further discrimination. This vicious circle, it is now felt, must be broken through legal action.

Perhaps the oldest kind of non-discrimination laws are those adopted by many northern states as an

aftermath of the Civil War which require hotels and restaurants to make their services available to Negroes as well as Whites. When abolitionist sentiment was still strong and Negroes in the North were few, these laws often worked—or rather, perhaps, there was little need for them. For many decades, however, they were openly flouted. A favourite device was to post a notice in a restaurant 'Prices Subject to Change Without Warning,' and boost them sky-high if a Negro asked for service. Waitresses were often instructed to ignore Negro customers, or to be deliberately rude to them.

Enforcing the Law

Negroes have attempted to enforce such laws by bringing suits against the offending restaurants, but these have been both costly and limited in their impact. More recently, the sit-down technique has been used. An inter-racial group will enter a restaurant, occupy all the tables, and refuse to budge so long as the Negroes among them are not served. Many American organisations have refused to hold their conventions in cities where some delegates may suffer discrimination. These laws are, consequently, now being more widely observed. When the Supreme Court decided last year that an obsolete District of Columbia law of this sort was still in effect, the practices of Washington hotels and restaurants changed almost overnight.

In the laws against racial discrimination which have been enacted in recent years, much more attention has been given to the problem of enforcement. Thus, when the state of New York adopted a law against racial or religious discrimination in employment, promotion, or lay-offs, an elaborate machinery was provided to make it effective, modelled upon the National Labour Relations Act. If a person feels that he has been refused employment because of his race or religion, he files a complaint with a special state commission. A member of its staff looks into the complaint to see if it is well grounded. If it is, the commission seeks to persuade the employer to correct his practices. If he refuses, a hearing is held at which both sides present their case. If the commission decides against the employer, and he still refuses to conform, the commission can go to court and secure an order compelling him to do so.

This law, incidentally, applies also to trade unions, some of whom still refuse membership to Negroes. Such unions have found themselves in conflict with the law, and in some instances they have revised their constitutions in order to conform. Thus, the effect of these 'Fair Employment Practices' Acts are felt even outside the number of states and cities which have adopted them.

The New York City multiple stores were particularly vigorous in opposing the enactment of the law, claiming that White customers would not buy from Negro sales girls. Experience has shown, however, that their fears were unfounded. Studies have indicated that even those who would much prefer not

to deal with Negro sales girls do so when they realise that it is the accepted practice.

This, by the way, is an observation which has a wide application in this field. There are many instances in which a majority of people are not ready voluntarily to abandon a particular discriminatory practice. But when the weight of the law is cast against it, all but those who feel really violently on the subject tend to conform.

The British reader can check for himself the impact of the New York law by leafing through the files of any New York City paper at his library. Before 1945, he will find the 'Help Wanted' advertisement columns full of such phrases as 'White Protestants only need apply.' It must be confessed, however, that many employment agencies which conform to the law on paper (and in their advertisements) are still willing to evade it in private. Staff members of the American Jewish Congress tested this by phoning 200 commercial employment agencies in down-town New York City, and seeking to place an order for a 'White Protestant' stenographer. In 1948, 88.4 per cent. accepted such a request; in 1949, after the impact of the law was felt, only 64.2 per cent. did. But last year the proportion, instead of having declined, remained about the same.

Actually, it is difficult for any large employer to conceal the evasion of the law, and it persists mainly in offices or works which employ only a few people.

The law works in reverse as well, and at least one White American has successfully pressed a complaint against an apartment house which refused him a job as lift operator on the ground that only Negroes were employed for this work. This has a serious as well as a humorous side; prejudice is broken down just as much when Whites are seen doing 'Negro' jobs as when Negroes are seen performing skilled or responsible work.

Some states have enacted Fair Educational Practices Acts of the same sort as those concerned with employment. These are directed against privately-supported schools and colleges, many of which have in the past refused or sharply restricted the enrolment of Negroes or Jews. A number of states have also established special agencies so that long-standing laws against discrimination by hotels and restaurants can be effectively enforced. The pattern is generally the same as with the Fair Employment Acts; individuals file complaints, but do not have to shoulder the heavy burden of pressing them in court; if the complaints are well founded, the appropriate state agency is responsible for ensuring the abandonment of the discriminatory practice concerned.

The variety of laws enacted is as wide as the variety of discriminations practised. There are laws to ensure that Negro mothers are not barred from hospitals if they wish to have their babies there, and there are laws against discrimination in cemeteries. One field which (understandably) has not been touched is that of the churches. Perhaps as a result, according to one authority on the subject, 'There is more Jim Crowism in America at 11 o'clock on Sunday morning than at

any other time.'

No one with experience of the complex problems of race relations would ever be guilty of neglecting the importance of education and persuasion. All modern laws on the subject provide ample opportunity for discussion and mediation before the authority of the courts is invoked—and, in practice, legal compulsion is but rarely necessary. But experience has

shown that, in extreme situations such as 'unofficial' strikes against the employment of Negro workers or riots against the introduction of Negro families in 'white' neighbourhoods, prompt and firm action by the authorities is needed and effective. The prospects are that the body of American law against racial discrimination will steadily expand in volume and effectiveness.

AMERICA DISCOVERS AFRICA

AFRICA is news to the United States. The *Chicago Tribune* may plug its isolationist line but features seven long articles on the Gold Coast. Gunther writes, in record time, *Inside Africa*. Visitors from the Colonies are sponsored on commercial TV. Not so long ago, however, African problems were the lonely preserve of the missionaries—and of Professor Herskovits at North-western University. This original thinker, through almost thirty years of academic devotion, taught and studied African problems single handed, as far as the United States were concerned. He was particularly interested in tracing African survivals in the language, the religious practices, the folk-ways and folk-tales of the Negroes of the New World. The latter disregarded for the most part this heritage, bent upon being accepted, above all, as equal, fully integrated American citizens. Herskovits's cultural (apart from his scientific) importance is that he provided at least one group, in a continent so scornful of antecedents, with a past.

Where the pressure of conformity is strong, you value any group that, by force of its own nature, must be different and enrich the pattern. Toynbee coined the epigram: 'If America will be saved, it will be through her Negro population.' The deep emotional attraction of the American Negro alike on the young jazz enthusiast and the elderly searcher for God is observed in slang, dress and esoteric cults and, more often than we know, satisfactory friendships and marriage. They demonstrate that you don't have to be an American egg-headed intellectual to escape being a boring Regular Guy. And now the Negroes themselves are discovering Africa, forming 'Ethiopian' or 'Arab' churches, maintaining Negro missionaries in Nigeria or returning as experts or journalists.

Africa is engaging the attention of official and academic circles throughout the United States. The State Department naturally has its African desk, but so has the Air Force and the Department of Agriculture. The Social Science Research Council and Fulbright Commission send postgraduates to Africa—too many to be easily accommodated and supervised

by the various African research institutions. Each of the large foundations has helped. Carnegie has been longest in the field, and its support in research (the South African pioneer study on the Poor White question is a remarkable example), to libraries and institutes (such as the grant to the East African Institute for social research on African 'élites') have justly become famous. The Program of African Studies at North-western University¹ is well endowed with Carnegie money. Until the creation of the new Africa Department at Boston University (under the able direction of Dr. Brown) it was a unique attempt, an inter-disciplinary study and teaching of African affairs.

Rockefeller's health work is well known in Africa, and so is its support for the Schools of Tropical Medicine in Britain. Recently it gave support to Chatham House for work on race relations, especially on the Copper Belt. Ford has helped the South African Institute of Race Relations, and has its own fellowship scheme. Its immense resources wisely have been concentrated on the Middle East and Asia, but Africa will not be neglected. The Twentieth Century Foundation has commissioned what may be termed a 'Hailey'² for the American (intelligent) Man. With so perceptive and pertinacious a head as Dr. George Kimble (a dynamic brother to the active David Kimble of the Gold Coast) the report promises to combine reliability with readability. It will be interesting to see how this enterprise will compare with Dr. Wieshoff's useful library of 'Handbooks.'

Unnecessary to go through all the many activities or the opportunities given to the American scholar for travel, maintenance and support for publication. The road which the scholar treads is, everywhere, a thorny one, but the American citizen, thanks to his people's generosity, belief in research, the crusading spirit and United States tax legislation, need not lack sustenance on his journey. Characteristically—it is hard to think of any parallel in Europe—American universities and money also assist, unstintingly, foreign Africans.

As a mass phenomenon the American student of Africa is a creation of this decade. He is bound to have a profound effect on the evolution of Africa and our thinking about the methods and direction of African research.

Leo Silberman

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¹ An account of this work is given in *Program of African Studies: The First Five Years, 1949-1953*, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.

² The new revised edition of Hailey's standard work has likewise been made possible by American grants.

THE COPPERBELT

The talks between the Northern Rhodesian copper-mining companies, the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union, the Mine Officials' and Salaried Staff Association and the African Mineworkers' Trade Union have broken down.¹ We print below statements issued by the employers and the European union after the breakdown. No statement by the African Union was available at the time of going to press. An earlier report is therefore given.

1. The Companies

'The position which existed at the beginning of negotiations and still continues is that the employment of Africans in any job within the field of the European daily paid workers is, in effect, prevented by the Agreement between the European union and the companies. . . .

The companies' contention is that some simplification and sub-division of certain European jobs is essential if the advancement of Africans is to be effective, both in order to provide opportunities of training and also, where necessary, to bring work and responsibility within the present capacity of African workers. The African representatives have indicated their agreement with this contention. In regard to the condition of "equal pay and all conditions" the simplification and sub-division of jobs just referred to would of itself imply a need for special rates of pay. . . .

. . . the companies believe that the diminution of the gap between African and European pay rates must be related to an improvement, first in the productivity and thereafter (and as a consequence) in the standard of living and civilisation of the African community as a whole. Any attempt to apply at once full European pay-rates and conditions of service to a section of African labour would have a disastrous effect on the individual, on the African community and on the economy of the Territory. The companies are not prepared to take the responsibility for experimentation of this kind.

The suggestion has been made that the companies are mainly concerned with obtaining cheap labour. They wish categorically to refute this suggestion. . . . It is in fact probable that no financial saving whatsoever will accrue from African advancement in the industry, in view of the lower output of the African worker and the greater need of supervision.

The companies recognise that their attitude in these matters may seem inconsistent with trade union principles such as "the rate for the job," which are commonly accepted in European countries. They consider that such principles are not capable of practical application to the situation with which industry in Central Africa is faced. . . .

. . . the companies have already given categorical assurances that no European employee of the com-

panies will lose employment as a result of African advancement. They have also offered to discuss with the European union the safeguards that could properly be devised with a view to securing the future status and livelihood of the European population on the Copperbelt.

In addition, the companies offered in the course of the negotiations to impose a numerical limitation on the number of Africans who might be advanced at special rates of pay into jobs impinging on the European field during the next five years, and to enter into fresh consultation when the situation was reviewed after that period. At this stage it appeared that the negotiations might succeed, especially as the companies simultaneously made an offer to the Africans as an integral part of the "advancement" programme, of the creation of a substantial number of intermediate posts outside the European field of employment in order to provide additional opportunities for training Africans to assume greater responsibility.

The companies, however, regret to state that these assurances and offers of safeguards, which the companies feel might be arranged now, but which the march of events may place it beyond their power to negotiate at a later stage, have not been accepted by the European union. . . .

—South Africa, July 31, 1954.

2. The Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union

'On July 24 the representatives of the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union found themselves in a position from which they had no alternative but to withdraw from the four-party talks. This withdrawal was the direct result of the stated policy of the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines to advance Africans to jobs now done by members of the N.R.M.W.U. at a different inferior wage, and to split up existing jobs, and in this manner to justify the creation of a wage schedule inferior to the one contained in the current agreement between the mining companies and the union, as well as the declared acceptance by the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union of advancement for their members on this basis.

From the time the question of African advancement was first brought up, the N.R.M.W.U. has consistently made its stand on accepted trade union principles. The union has at all times tried to view the situation dispassionately, and has not allowed racial prejudice to cloud its judgment on the issues

¹ For the background to this dispute readers should refer to *Venture*, June, 1953, page 6, and *Venture*, July, 1954, page 8.

involved. The union has made its stand clear, and once more reiterates that it is firmly convinced that the setting up of two parallel wage schedules covering identical jobs, one inferior to the other, is not in the interests of organised labour.

We feel that it is against all the tenets of democracy to discriminate against workers on grounds of colour or differences in social background, and cannot associate ourselves with attempts to prescribe jobs for a particular section of labour on such artificial lines. Throughout the talks the union has stated that all jobs should be available on an equal basis to all workers, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The Chamber of Mines has based its case for a differential wage on unconvincing generalities which do not reflect the situation as it exists to-day, and will certainly be rejected by trade union organisations everywhere. We cannot agree that a people should be discriminated against in industry because of (a) differing social background; (b) colour of skin; or (c) possible disastrous effects of an increase in wages on the individual.

The union regrets that the four-party talks have been unsuccessful. We pay tribute to the chairmanship of Major W. Donnelly. We also welcome the setting up by the Government of a board of inquiry as an opportunity once more to refute the allegations that we have barred African workers from advancement within the industry, and to demonstrate our desire that all workers should receive the best possible return for their labour.

—*East African and Rhodesia*, July 29, 1954.

3. The Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union

'Mr. L. C. Katilungu, General President of the African Mineworkers' Union and of the Trade Union Congress, said in Kitwe recently that the African Mineworkers' Union considered that the advancement of Africans should take place on two levels.

The first would involve the relatively small number of Africans able to prove themselves capable to do the work now done exclusively by Europeans.

The African union recognised that such Africans might require training, and that advancement of this kind would necessitate negotiations between the mining companies and the European Mineworkers' Union. The African trade union appreciated that this would take some time.

While negotiations necessary to the advancement of this type were being carried out, the African union would press for immediate advancement on a different level.

This should take the form of an assessment of the work done by Africans and Europeans in the mines. On the basis of this assessment a considerable number of Africans judged to be doing jobs of some responsibility should have those regraded.

The union would thus be asking for the creation of a number of new categories of African mineworkers. In these new categories a much higher rate of pay would be required.

—*African Eagle*, January 5, 1954.

LABOUR'S COLONIAL POLICY QUESTIONNAIRE

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Now that control of colonial governments is in many cases passing out of the hands of the United Kingdom, what should the Labour Party do to make links with colonial movements? Should it confine itself to Socialist organisations, or is there room for links with nationalist or other bodies which may not have Socialist aims?

2. What should be the prime aim of colonial policy—self-government? economic development? social advance?

3. Should we insist on *democratic* self-government before handing over power? (This is a leading question, to which a fairly long answer is desirable, with reference to specific cases, e.g. British Guiana, Uganda, Central Africa).

4. Is it desirable to re-define the aims of policy in the plural societies of East and Central Africa? If so, make specific suggestions.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Should the Labour Party be prepared to recommend to the electorate that funds for investment in the Colonies should be publicly provided, if necessary by:—

- (a) a cut in the British standard of living;
- (b) a standstill in the British standard of living;
- (c) a reduction in armaments expenditure?

2. If funds are made available in one or more of the ways suggested above, should they be:—

(a) paid into United Nations funds (specify which, e.g. Technical Assistance, World Health Organisation or any other of the Specialised Agencies, a World Development Authority if this is set up);

(b) paid into any fund primarily under the control of Commonwealth countries (a very rough example being the Colombo Plan);

(c) kept under the control of the United Kingdom for expenditure in consultation with colonial governments?

3. Are any changes necessary in the present financial arrangements of the sterling area?

4. Are any changes necessary in the present commercial policy of the United Kingdom—e.g. long-term bulk purchase agreements, trade with Japan, price of British exports?

5. Should a Labour Government encourage investment in the Colonies by British private enterprise? If so, what encouragement should be given? What safeguards should be devised to protect colonial peoples from exploitation?

SPECIAL CASES

What specific points should be included in any declarations of Party policy in regard to (a) Kenya, (b) Malaya, bearing in mind that the steps recommended would have to be carried out by a Labour Government in office?

FROM SHACK TO SELF-HELP IN THE WEST INDIES

by Beryl Cross¹

PERHAPS the most serious and far-reaching of all Caribbean problems consequent on over-population and past neglect is bad housing, with all the allied distress of a low standard of living in malnutrition, inadequate sanitation, and bad health generally. While in the West Indies our party saw a great variety of types of housing. Middle and upper-class homes were frequently built as large and very roomy bungalows with a verandah and well-kept gardens, set back from the highway. In British Guiana these were generally raised on high piles. But throughout the Caribbean such houses as these form a very small part of the whole.

The bulk of the people live in wooden houses or shacks, in daub and wattle huts or in single rooms. Daub and wattle huts are generally rectangular buildings with whitened 'mud' walls, window openings and thatched or shingled roofs. These are almost completely confined to the rural areas and were seen in all the territories we visited. Wooden houses vary greatly in their size and suitability for habitation. In British Guiana, Barbados and Antigua wooden houses and shacks are widely seen. 'Shack' can be used to describe anything from a building in the style of a garden-shed in Britain to a shanty of pieces of iron, wood, stones, newspapers, palm-leaves, rags or any other kind of material that can be forced into the shape of four walls and a roof. I saw slums of such shacks in Port of Spain, Trinidad; St. John's, Antigua; and Kingston, Jamaica. In British Guiana, it was stated² in a recent report, there are 17.6 per cent. of dwellings with over four people in a bedroom while 35.5 per cent. of the people lived in rooms and barracks. In Port Maurant I saw a whole settlement of East Indian sugar-workers in such barracks. They were long lines of low-ceilinged, one-storey buildings with half-doors rather like the entrances to cattle-sheds. It was twilight on a Sunday evening and the only lighting appeared to come from oil lamps, while waste, stagnant water ran between the barrack lines.

What of the newer types of housing that, on a very small but welcome scale, are beginning to appear in the West Indies? We saw two examples of such housing in British Guiana. On the bauxite mines of the Demerara Bauxite Company, experiments are being conducted into the use of aluminium housing and a sample number of such houses have been built for the workers. The buildings are completely made of the metal, which is said to repel heat to some

degree. On the sugar estates of Plantation Enmore we saw some comparatively recent Government housing which consists of a body-house of unpainted wood on piles to which the families themselves can add galleries if and when they wish. They are given initial loans from the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund, which they pay back over a long period. In the Caribbean Commission's Report there is a note that 1,382 families of sugar workers had been housed by 1951 at an expenditure of \$(B.W.I.)¹ 1,476,000 in houses built by sugar estates from their own funds.

In Trinidad we visited the Caroni sugar estate where a new community is being planned with small colour-washed houses in small gardens that are interspersed by rickety wooden houses of the old type that have been put up by the sugar workers themselves. Jamaica has spent on housing schemes from Colonial Development and Welfare funds up to March 31, 1951, £113,112 for urban housing and £249,391 for rural housing. The total number of people to be rehoused from this source up to March 31, 1954, was 6,485 in urban areas and 2,290 in rural areas. Jamaica, like Trinidad and Barbados, has an aided self-help scheme, and later this year the Ministry of Health is hoping to run a Housing Week to increase general interest in Jamaica in this problem.

Of all the West Indian territories visited Antigua and Barbados provided a special interest in regard to housing in that it was possible to compare two other Labour Governments with our own—though admittedly in very different circumstances from the British post-war Government. But Antigua and Barbados are—relatively speaking—faced with at least as difficult a problem and they have the ogre of widespread poverty to contend with as well.

In Barbados most people owned their own dwelling—usually a wooden shack in varying states of disrepair—but not the land on which it stands, because of the position of land tenure in Barbados. This insecurity is reflected in the actual manner of building, as the wooden dwellings—which stand upon a pile of stones—can be lifted on to a cart or some other conveyance so that they can be transported by the family that lives in them under cover of darkness to another plot of land. The need for amendment of land tenure laws in Barbados can be seen to be fairly obvious, and there are now some agreements between Government and tenants on Government land to grant 99-year leases in certain cases—like the aided self-help scheme at Clinketts which is worthy of particular mention.

Clinketts consists of housing for 15 carefully

¹ Who visited the Caribbean in February and March, 1954, as a member of the Caribbean Youth Tour, sponsored by the South African Aid to Britain Fund.

² *Aspects of Housing in the Caribbean*, Caribbean Commission, 1951.

¹ \$(B.W.I.)=4s. 2d.

selected families that has been conveniently sited near a new elementary school. The houses are 20 feet by 18 feet and include a living room, two bedrooms and a kitchen and have a timber floor, concrete block walls and corrugated asbestos roof. The private yard at the back will be enclosed by a six-foot wall and a pit latrine with a fly-proof seat, and a room for bathing will be constructed. It is estimated that the material used in these houses is worth \$810, and the house would cost about \$2,100 if normal labour were used in their erection. Potential tenants work as a team in making the concrete blocks and, to some degree, in constructing the houses as a whole. The cost of materials must be paid back to Government over a long period of time with an interest rate of 2 per cent. after the first year. Since the cost of erecting the traditional timber house is also about \$800 and the rapid deterioration of this type of wood carries with it crippling maintenance costs, a scheme whereby workers obtain a house which, when built, is valued at 247 per cent. of its cost to them seems a really excellent method of combating poverty and general bad living conditions among the lower-paid sections of the people. While visiting the scheme I met one of the people who is building his house—a postman. He expressed his hearty appreciation of the project and told us that the homes would soon be occupied. Much of the work was done by the light of oil-lamps after the potential tenants had finished their day's work.

In Antigua we saw a new housing project outside St. John's occupied by families who previously lived in the capital's slums. They had small, bungalow-type buildings, washed in different colours, each in its own plot of land, incomparably better than the dilapidated

wooden shacks that their occupants previously lived in. The cheering thing, however, about the appalling slums in St. John's was the unoccupied sites that were pointed out to us from which families had already been moved, and slum clearance stands high on the Labour Government's programme.

The *Souvenir Magazine* of the Antigua Trades and Labour Union, 1951, gives an interesting note on houses that had already been built from the Labour Welfare Fund. Houses had been built from a sugar cess for workers under a hire purchase system while village extension schemes had been inaugurated whereby 'lands adjacent to over-congested villages could be purchased and sold to would-be builders.' The note also states that the 1950 hurricanes, in removing many sub-standard houses, forced the Government in power to choose between initiating a long-term housing programme of durable houses and replacement of the buildings destroyed by daub and wattle buildings. The fact that they took the former decision set new housing schemes on the right foot.

No one can be complacent about what is being done. Of course it is only a beginning when the size of the problem is considered, and—with a steadily increasing population—the need for houses continues at a constant level, and it is impossible to foresee a time when output will have equated demand. But each new, well-built house that is provided for people who had previously known only the meagre shelter of shacks and shanties means that family life has a real opportunity to be lived. Self-help and other schemes mean not only a house but a home. Therein lies their greatest virtue.

FACT

EXECUTIONS IN KENYA

In reply to Mr. Brockway, the Secretary of State said on July 21 that up to July 9, 531 Africans had been executed in Kenya since the declaration of the emergency, for the following offences:—

Murder (including 211 Mau Mau cases) ...	232
Unlawful possession of arms or ammunition ...	182
Consorting with terrorists ...	91
Administering unlawful oaths ...	18
Acting with intent to further terrorism ...	6
Procuring supplies for terrorists ...	2

In the Debate on Kenya on July 22, Mr. Lyttelton said: 'The charges of carrying ammunition and consorting with terrorists are not brought unless there is evidence that the person has been present with armed gangs, or is in possession of Mau Mau letters, diaries, subscription lists, oath-ceremony arrangements and so forth, or is in possession of materials for making home-made guns . . . the policy . . . is quite clear. It is: not to prosecute men for carrying ammunition if they have not taken an active part in operations. Thus a man caught during a skirmish with a gang who is found in possession of ammunition would be charged, but a casual

Kikuyu picked up in the Reserve with three or four rounds on him would ordinarily not.'

DEPORTATION AND RUSTICATION

For many months Members of Parliament have been awaiting details of the powers of colonial governments to deport from or rusticate persons within their territories. The Colonial Office initiated enquiries and has now had replies. Details were given to Mr. Fenner Brockway in the House of Commons on June 16. Mr. Lyttelton said that all colonial governments have the right to deport aliens at their discretion. As regards British subjects and British-protected persons, the following have legislation requiring judicial process before either deportation or rustication, or have agreed to legislate to that effect:—

Barbados, Bermuda, British Honduras, Cyprus, Falkland Islands, Gambia, Gold Coast, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kenya, Leeward Islands, Mauritius, North

(Continued on page 12)

Parliament

British Guiana: Peasant Rice Production. In reply to Mr. D. Jones, Mr. Lyttelton said that the British Guiana Rice Development Company had no plans for taking over estate land. It was mainly engaged in expanding rice milling facilities and operating the fully mechanised rice farms at Mahaicony-Abary. The company lent mechanical equipment to peasant farmers in the area holding a total of 6,621 acres under lease. The Government of British Guiana was undertaking irrigation and drainage schemes which would make more land available for peasant rice farming. (June 2).

Tanganyika Legislative Council Elections. Mr. James Johnson asked whether elections on a common roll, with reserved seats, could be held in Dar-es-Salaam. The Secretary of State replied that the system of representation by geographical areas would not be introduced until the Legislative Council was reconstituted next year, and that the new Council must become firmly established before the elective principle was introduced. He added that this policy had been given unanimous approval by the present Council and reflected responsible opinion throughout Tanganyika. Mr. Johnson asked whether there could not be second—and wiser—thoughts and reminded the Secretary of State that the African Association had petitioned the Governor on this point. (June 16).

British Guiana Reforms. Sir Leslie Plummer asked what legislative and administrative reforms had been carried through in British Guiana since the establishment of the present Government. Mr. Lyttelton listed 18, including: the introduction of a Schools Broadcasting service, the establishment of a Credit Corporation in accordance with the recommendation of the International Bank Commission, legislation for improved control and the compulsory registration of Friendly Societies, preparation and approval of a housing programme with assistance of U.K. experts, increased provision for scholarships and training courses of various kinds. (June 23).

East Africa: Makerere College Extra-Mural Department. In reply to Mr. James Johnson, the Secretary of State said that the importance of extra-mural work in East Africa was fully recognised, and in 1952 a special grant had been made from the Colonial Development and Welfare fund to assist the University authorities to appoint a Director for three-four years. At the same time the Uganda Government allocated £10,000 for the appointment of a resident tutor for Uganda. Extra-mural work had started in Uganda. Plans for expansion were being prepared for submission to the College Council. (June 29).

Mr. Rankin asked why the Governments of Tanganyika and Kenya had not followed the example of the Uganda Government in voting money

for the appointment of resident extra-mural tutors for their territories. Mr. Hopkinson replied that the Governors of Kenya and Tanganyika were being communicated with. (July 29).

Kenya: Murders by Terrorists. In reply to Mr. Russell, Mr. Hopkinson said that up to June 19, 24 European and 1,113 African civilians had been murdered by terrorists in Kenya. (July 7).

Malaya: Murders by Terrorists. In reply to Mr. Russell, Mr. Hopkinson said that between June 1948 and May 1954, 2,197 Asians and 100 European civilians had been murdered by terrorists in the Federation of Malaya. (July 7).

Uganda: Co-operative Development Council. In reply to Mr. Beswick, Mr. Hopkinson said that the Co-operative Development Council had met four times. It had made suggestions, which had been adopted, for the amendment of Protectorate legislation bearing on co-operative societies; had scrutinised the draft estimates of the Department of Co-operative Development; and had set up a sub-committee to investigate the possibility of further encouraging consumer co-operation. The Council consisted of the Commissioner for Co-operative Development, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Senior Co-operative Officer performing the duties of accountant in the Department, two members appointed by the Governor and eight members elected by co-operative societies and unions. [One of the Governor's nominees was a woman.] (July 28).

Trinidad: Prohibited Immigrants. In reply to Mr. D. Jones Mr. Hopkinson said that between June 16 and July 15, 1954, 19 persons from other British West Indian Colonies were ordered to leave Trinidad. These were all prohibited immigrants under the Trinidad Immigration (Restrictions) Ordinance. (July 28).

Uganda: Corporal Punishment. Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State whether, in view of the sentence of lengthy imprisonment, together with the imposition of up to twenty-four lashes, for persons found guilty of housebreaking and violence at Kampala on July 13, he would recommend to colonial governments and judiciaries the same restriction of flogging as a punishment as is now observed in the United Kingdom. Mr. Hopkinson replied that the policy of encouraging progressive reduction and ultimate abolition of corporal punishment in the Colonies was unchanged. His right hon. friend had this matter very much in mind but did not see any reason to make this particular case an occasion for further general exhortation to colonial governments. It would not be proper for him to make recommendations about penalties to colonial judiciaries.

Guide to Books

Controlling Human Numbers

(*Planning*, Vol. XX, No. 367, July 1954. Political and Economic Planning, 16, Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W.1, 2s.)

This issue of *Planning* is a follow-up of a previous number dealing with World Population and Resources. It tackles courageously the need for population control through family planning. P.E.P. bases its case for urgent action on the possible increase of the population of the world from 2,454m. in 1950 to 3,990m. in 1980. It argues that a rapid increase is taking place in the under-developed countries, where some two-thirds of the people are not eating enough to maintain health and energy and that this underfed majority suffers from high death rates. With modern techniques of saving life, a vast increase of population is almost inevitable over the next 30 years unless the decrease in the death rate (death control) resulting from these techniques and from the spread of hygiene training are balanced by birth control. The medical and sanitary revolution and the industrial and agricultural revolutions in the West increased the birth rate in the first cycle. With the improvement in the standard of living and the development of education, the birth rate stabilised. The under-developed countries are in the first stages of these two revolutions and the West is committed to the support of their progress. But the fulfilment of the purpose of these great changes is dependent on the eventual reduction of the birth rate to that of the West.

In the past, there has been more awareness of the threat of de-population than of over-population. In 1934, owing to the low level of the birth rate in Moscow, the U.S.S.R. made the performance of abortion more difficult and in 1937 it was prohibited except for specified medical reasons. France promoted both economic and medical policies to arrest the fall of the birth rate, whilst before the war, both Germany and Japan encouraged large families as part of their policy of imperialist expansion. In democratic countries, there is no experience of the provision of incentives for parents to limit the number of their children.

It is well-known that the ideal method of controlling conception does not exist. The pamphlet points out that 'such a method should be wholly effective and reliable; harmless both to the users and to children later born; fool-proof; aesthetically unobjectionable; within the means of the poorer user and acceptable on moral and religious grounds.' There are many objections on religious grounds. As far as is known, only the rhythm method is not unacceptable to any of the major religions. The Roman Catholic Church certainly condemns the use of appliances, but the Pope, in an address in October, 1951 to Italian midwives, laid on them the duty of

educating mothers in the rhythm method to save the birth of unwanted children. Gandhi believed in the exercise of moral restraint and approved the rhythm method of partial abstinence. In November, 1952, at the International Conference on Planned Parenthood in Bombay, the Vice-President of India pointed out that Gandhi had made a distinction between what might be regarded as ideal and what might be regarded as permissible. He added, 'When the leaders tell us that it is essential for us to control the increase of population it is open to each of us to find out, each for himself, what is best adapted to his own development . . . If the purpose is not wrong, there is no ethical or spiritual harm.'

India and Japan are dealt with in some detail. India estimates that in 1981 the population is likely to be 521m. compared with the 1951 census figure of 361m. The Census Commission has given warning that the increase can be prevented only by famine or the voluntary limitation of child-bearing. He advocated that parents should limit the number of their children to three and pointed out that on the maximum assessment of increased production of food, India could not feed more than 450m. people. In 1952, the Five Year Plan contained a programme of family limitation with a provision of £500,000 for research, education of the public and the provision of information in Government hospitals and health centres. Japan has reached a more advanced stage of the population cycle than India. In 1945, the population was 72m.; in 1951 it was 83m., including 5m. repatriates from Japan's former colonial territories. Japanese demographers calculate that the population will reach 100m. at some point between 1961 and 1970. To arrest the increase, the Government passed a 'eugenics protection law' in 1948 which legalised abortion. The number of abortions is now assessed at over 1m. a year. Since the physical health of the mother may be affected by such action, the Japanese Population Problems Council, established in 1949, has recommended that 'to prevent a sharp increase in the population, which will have adverse effects on the economic reconstruction and promotion of public health, and also to realise a sound cultural life, it is considered necessary to furnish married couples with necessary information on contraception'. Japan has little hope of adequately feeding an increased population as her achievement in yields per acre are set up as a target at which other countries should aim, particularly in the staple food of rice.

P.E.P. recommends research into suitable methods of birth control. The writers of the pamphlet argue that one of the objectives of all world religions is the protection and preservation of the family and it is in the defence of the welfare of the family that the principle of birth control can be advocated. In the West, where families are limited, there has

been a spectacular reduction in the maternal and infant death rates and a notable increased concern in the welfare of children. The West is urged to enlist the help of scientists, especially physiologists and chemists, in a wide programme of research and experiment and to provide financial and moral support. The need is recognised by India and Japan but many other territories which are disturbed by their rapidly increasing populations have not faced the problem. In the Colonies, it affects particularly certain islands such as Cyprus, Malta, Mauritius and the West Indies. This number of *Planning* should be read in all of them.

Hilda Selwyn-Clarke.

Tell Freedom

By Peter Abrahams. (Faber, 12s. 6d.)

If Mr. Abrahams's story of his boyhood and youth in South Africa had been no more than another weapon in the war against racialism it would have been welcome. But it is a great deal more than that. It is a beautifully told story of the growth and development of a human being in one particular (and vividly realised) part of our twentieth-century world; it is literature, in fact. And precisely because it is literature it is a deadlier weapon in that war for humanism which one day, perhaps, will be seen as the biggest thing in the twentieth century. One's heart is warmed again and again in these pages, as one is made to feel how fine human nature can be; and one is made, all too often, to blush for shame for the baseness it can sink to. The book never shouts or rages. It tells its story quietly, yet how poignantly. Take the passage telling how the eight-year old boy goes with his firewood barrow from the noisy, stinking slum which is home for him and his like into one of the 'white' suburbs of Johannesburg:—

'The world seemed hushed and empty here. Peace hung over it. The broad pavements were clean. No black water ran down the gutters of these streets. No half-naked, pot-bellied children fought and played in these gutters. The houses were of

bricks. They had curtained windows. There was room between one house and the next. And each had large windows to let in the light of day.'

'The houses were of bricks.' 'There was room between one house and the next.' You have to read the book to realise how heart-rending such simple sentences can be. And the people—Peter's mother and sister, Aunt Liza and Uncle Sam, Aunt Mattie the *skokiaan* brewer, the old Hottentot cattle-drover, the red-haired white woman who made Peter her market-boy for a morning—they all live and breathe; they are not political or sociological abstractions.

The finest thing about a fine book is its utter lack of bitterness. 'Did a white person ever spit in your face?' asked his college friend, Jonathan. 'Yes.' 'In mine too.' All his life till he was one-and-twenty had been 'dominated by a sign, often invisible but no less real for that, which said—"RESERVED FOR EUROPEANS ONLY"'. Ample justification for bitterness. Mr. Abrahams' book shames us all by its charity.

Frank Horrabin.

(Continued from page 9)

Borneo, St. Helena, Seychelles, Singapore, Trinidad, Uganda, Western Pacific, Windward Islands, Zanzibar.

(In Malta there is no power to deport persons belonging to the territory and deportation of others is, in practice, preceded by judicial process.)

The Governments of the following are similarly placed in regard to deportation, but not rustication:—

Fiji, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, Somaliland, Tanganyika.

The Governments of Aden, Bahamas, British Guiana, Brunei and Sarawak have not so far agreed to legislate in this sense as regards either deportation or resuscitation, but of these only Brunei has power to deport persons belonging to the territory.

It is considered that in the special circumstances of the territories concerned, the Governments of the Federation of Malaya and Gibraltar should retain the power to deport without judicial process.

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